DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 431 966 CE 078 998

TITLE	Cultural Issues in Organizations.
PUB DATE	1999-03-00
NOTE	33p.; In: Academy of Human Resource Development (AHRD) Conference Proceedings; see CE 078 963.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Education; Case Studies; College Administration; Critical Incidents Method; *Cultural Differences; *Cultural Pluralism; Emotional Adjustment; Employed Women; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; *Job Satisfaction; *Labor Force Development; Management Development; Networks; Nonprofit Organizations; *Organizational Climate; Social Support Groups; Work Environment
IDENTIFIERS	Canada; *Organizational Culture; *Sense of Community; United States

ABSTRACT

This document contains four symposium papers on cultural issues in organizations. "Emotion Management and Organizational Functions: A Study of Action in a Not-for-Profit Organization" (Jamie Callahan Fabian) uses Hochschild's emotion systems theory and Parsons' social systems theory to explain why members of an organization managed their experience and/or expression of emotion. "Communities in the Workplace" (Darlene Russ-Eft) discusses a study that analyzed 401 critical incidents from 119 employees in 22 organizations in the United States and Canada and identified factors affecting the development of communities in the workplace. "Show Me the Money: Moderators of Satisfaction for University Administrators" (Jamie Waclawski, Allan H. Church) analyzes organizational survey data collected from 870 members of the administrative staff in a large university setting and demonstrates that workers with prior experience in academia are significantly more satisfied with their current jobs than their counterparts are. "Questioning the Viability of a Women's Network as a Management Development Activity" (Linda M. Hite, Kimberly S. McDonald) draws upon qualitative and quantitative data to show that, despite their benefits, structured networks with meeting times and membership lists may be less viable in the current climate than they were a few years ago. (MN)

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34 **Cultural Issues in Organizations**

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34 - 1 Emotion Management and Organizational Functions: a Study of Action in a Not-for-profit Organization

Jamie Callahan Fabian, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

34 - 2 Communities in the Workplace

Darlene Russ-Eft, AchieveGlobal, Inc.

34 - 3 Show Me the Money: Moderators of Satisfaction for University Administrators

Janine Waclawski, W. Warner Burke and Associates, Inc.

Allan H. Church, W. Warner Burke and Associates, Inc.

34 - 4 Questioning the Viability of a Women's Network as a Management Development Activity

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Emotion Management and Organizational Functions: A Study of Action in a Not-For-Profit Organization

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This case study of a not-for-profit organization uses Hochschild's (1983) emotion systems theory and Parsons' (1951) social systems theory to look at the purposes for which members of an organization managed their experience and/or expression of emotion (i.e., performed emotion work). The study found that emotion work actions were attributed to all four system functions of Parsons' (1951) theory. The dominant form of emotion work was anger suppression; the majority of emotion work actions were associated with the organizational culture. Because much of the emotion work was performed by individuals for organizational purposes, it may be possible to use emotion work actions by individuals to take a "distributed view" (Glynn, 1996) of organizational level phenomena.

Keywords: Nonprofit Organizations, Emotion Work, Social Systems

Emotion has been a component of many social science theories since the 19th century. In the organizational context, the study of emotion has focused on such elements as job satisfaction and employee stress. However, a growing interest has surfaced regarding a relatively new sub-field of sociology developed by Hochschild (1979, 1983)—the sociology of emotion (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Fineman, 1993; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Wharton & Erickson, 1993). The sociology of emotion, also known as emotion systems theory, is more concerned with the macro-construction of emotion and the emotional interchange between organization and employee than with specific attributes or outcomes of emotion at the individual level. A key component of the theory focuses on the conscious management of the experience and/or expression of emotion, known as emotion work.

Neither field researchers nor theoreticians have included in-depth explorations of the links between emotion work and the organization. The focus in both field research and theory extension is at the micro-sociology level without generally considering the macro-level. The macro-theory level may provide a lens to view emotion work as it relates to the organizational context. This study explores the links between emotion work and an existing macro-theory encompassing both the individual and collective levels of a social system. Specifically, it demonstrates that Parsons' General Theory of Action (Parsons, 1951) may be used as a meta-framework for a more rigorous approach to viewing emotion work in organizational contexts.

Problem Statement

Studies on emotion work have successfully sought to verify the existence of the phenomenon in a variety of organizational settings (e.g., Hochschild, 1983; Pogrebin & Poole, 1991; Wharton, 1993). These studies were conducted in organizations known for requiring a great deal of control of emotional states by employees (e.g., Hochschild, 1983; Pogrebin & Poole, 1991; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987, 1989). Interestingly, these employees, such as airline attendants, bill collectors, and police officers, are all required to interface with customers to a large extent. Emotion work has been found to exist in all such occupations. Ashforth and Humphrey (1995) call for the study of emotion work in more typical organizations. Because the research site for this study is a not-for-profit organization, it is distinct from other organizations in which emotion work was studied. Further, the daily staff operations constitute a more "typical" organization. Including both paid and unpaid organizational members, this study captures emotion work in a fundamentally different population than previously studied.

Early studies in the cost of role conflict, which may include emotional roles, revealed an increase in job tension and a decrease in both job satisfaction and confidence in the organization (Cox, 1978). More current physiological studies on emotion suppression indicate that emotion work may have negative physiological consequences—such as impaired immune system functioning and artherosclerosis—which could influence organizational level phenomena (Levenson, 1994). Unfortunately, no attempt has been made to empirically assess the emotion work engaged in by employees as it relates to any organizational level phenomena. Further, no model exists to enable such research. This study links emotion systems theory to a theory of action that will facilitate the study of the relationship between emotion work and organizational phenomena. Such studies may help practitioners

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improve individual and organizational performance by identifying and addressing organizational issues around which emotional suppression is high.

Glynn (1996) points out that "extending a microlevel construct to the macrolevel organization invites opportunities for ambiguity and threats of anthropomorphism" (p. 1087). However, if the goals of emotion work are oriented to both the individual and the organization, it is possible that emotion work is both a micro- and a meso-phenomenon. Individual emotion work may hold the seeds of the collective that can form a bridge between the individual and the collective. It may be a construct which enables a "distributed" (Glynn, 1996) view of the organization. In other words, organizational goals are embedded in the organizational members such that a study of individuals can yield patterns of the collective. This study offers a way to use an individual level phenomenon in order to begin to understand organizational level phenomena.

In summary, research to date has not attempted to "trac[e] a set of links" (Fineman, 1993, p. xii) between emotion work and any type of organization, whether emotion-laden or more "mundane." Nor has any empirical research been conducted to build or extend theory to accomplish such an agenda. This study extends theory in order to trace the links between emotion work and organizational phenomena in future studies by establishing a connection between the emotion work construct and the individual level of Parsons' (1951) analytical systems model. Hochschild (1979, 1983) argued that emotion work is generally conducted for organizational purposes at the behest of organizational management. However, it is also possible that emotion work is conducted for individual purposes, especially in those organizations that do not have a high customer interface. Further, it is possible that emotion work may be conducted for organizational purposes out of a personal sense of commitment to the organization rather than at the behest of organizational management. Thus, the research question that guided this study was, "*Do individuals conduct emotion work for individual or organizational goals within an organization?*"

Overview of Conceptual Framework

Talcott Parsons' model of four "functional imperatives" was used as the organizing framework for the goals of emotion work in this study. These four functional imperatives are associated with the goals of action taken by a system (Wallace & Wolf, 1995). They are called adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and latent pattern maintenance. Although most people associate Parsonian theory strictly with groups or larger levels of systems, Parsons (1961) argued that individuals could be considered systems that encompassed the four functions. Therefore, Parsons' classification system may be useful in understanding the goals of action taken by an individual within a social system. Figure 1 is a representation of the four system characteristics.

Adaptation	Goal
Latent Pattern Maintenance	Integration

Figure 1: Parsons' four system functions

Briefly, according to Parsons (1951, 1961), the adaptation function obtains resources from the external environment for use by the system. The goal attainment function is concerned with mobilizing those resources to meet the larger goals of the total system. The integration function is concerned with the ways to bring together the various units and resources of the system in order to create a collective identity. Finally, the latent pattern maintenance function serves to maintain the stability of institutionalized beliefs and patterns of interaction within the system. Again, these functions relate to the goals of actions taken by a social system.

Hochschild called her contribution "emotion systems theory" because it is comprised of "a system composed of individual acts of 'emotion work', social 'feeling rules', and a great variety of exchanges between people in private and public life" (1983, p. ix-x). Many consider her to be the founder of a relatively new sub-field within sociology known as the "sociology of emotion" (Wallace & Wolf, 1995). As such, the phrase "sociology of

emotion" has often replaced Hochschild's own term of "emotion systems theory". The theory has two primary components—emotion work and feeling rules.

Emotion work is the active attempt to change, in either quality or degree, an emotion held by an individual (Hochschild, 1983). There are two general types of emotion work (Hochschild, 1979). The first is "evocation." When an individual performs the evocation type of emotion work, that individual is trying to draw forth an emotion that is not present. The other type of emotion work is called "suppression." It is just the opposite of evocation. When an individual is performing the suppression type of emotion work, that individual is trying to eliminate or, at the very least, subdue an emotion that is present.

The second major component of Hochschild's work is that of "feeling rules" (Hochschild, 1979, 1983). Feeling rules are the "socially shared, albeit often latent (not thought about unless probed at)" (Hochschild, 1979, p. 563) guidelines that govern how we want to try to feel. They guide our expression of emotion and they guide our attempt to internalize the acceptable emotion (as defined by the situational rule). Feeling rules represent what an individual "should" feel in a given situation. These rules can govern the extent of the appropriate feeling—how much emotion should be displayed/felt; they can govern the direction of the emotion—whether the individual should feel happy or sad; and they can govern the duration of the emotion—how long an individual should maintain a particular emotion. As such, they are "guidelines for the assessment of fits and misfits between feeling and situation" (Hochschild, 1979, p. 566).

Emotion work theoretically constitutes a critical element found in the Parsonian General Theory of Action. Parsons argued that four types of action were possible—expressive, intellectual, moral, and instrumental (Ritzer, 1992). Expressive action is primarily affective; intellectual action is primarily cognitive; moral action is primarily evaluative; and instrumental action is a complex act in which affects are cognitively manipulated in order to achieve goals. Hochschild (1979; 1983) looks at how society forces an individual to cognitively shape and control feelings in order to fit within that society, in order to achieve goals within that society. Thus, emotion work can be considered a type of instrumental action.

The four functions described earlier (adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and latent pattern maintenance) represent the goals of instrumental action at the individual and collective levels of a system. Because instrumental action is goal oriented, when conducted by individuals it should manifest itself in individual goals associated with the four system functions. It is possible, however, that emotion work also constitutes a meso-phenomenon. In other words, emotion work conducted by an individual may be characterized by both individual *and* organizational goals. Because Parsons' model theoretically captures both individual and collective levels of analysis, it has the potential of capturing meaningful data across multiple levels of analysis. If this connection between Parsons and Hochschild can be demonstrated, researchers may be able to use Parsons' model to look at the goals of the individual level phenomenon of emotion work and make inferences about the connection between certain types of individual and collective level goals.

Methodology

This primarily qualitative study was based on a naturalistic design (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The qualitative element was supported by a quantitative survey element as a triangulation device. A not-for-profit organization established in 1946 and associated with aerospace and national defense agreed to be the research site for this study. The membership of over 160,000 people in this organization is primarily composed of Air Force active duty members, Air Force Reserve component members, veterans and retirees; however, membership is also drawn from civil service personnel, cadets, and civilian individuals who have never experienced military service, many of whom are affiliated with aerospace industry. The sample from this study was drawn from the professional staff, the Board of Directors, and the senior leadership of the states.

Four methods of data collection were used (individual interviews, observations, surveys, and document analysis) to provide a measure of validity through data-collection method triangulation (Patton, 1990; Yin, 1994). Documents reviewed included letters and e-mails from organizational members, videotapes, field books, and organizational publications. The Dealing with Feelings survey (Sashkin & Jones, 1987) served as a data-collection method triangulation element and was administered to 242 members of the professional staff, the Board of Directors, and the leadership of the states. The 25 (9 women, 16 men) individuals interviewed for the study were selected from those organizational members who returned the survey. This ensured that a triangulation point was available for all interview participants. Participant observations were conducted among the volunteers at a state

meeting, a Board of Directors meeting, a convention exhibit, and several luncheons, dinners, and cocktail parties. Traditional observations were conducted of the staff members at the National Headquarters.

Over 800 pages of transcribed interviews and correspondence were analyzed using NUD*IST software. The four functions of systems, as defined by Parsons (1951), were used as the primary codes. Open coding (Strauss, 1987) was used within the larger system codes for greater refinement of the data. Emotion work and the specific emotions associated with the emotion work performed were also part of the primary coding set. Data identified as "emotion work" was automatically included in the study. Each reference to emotion work was assessed to determine if it could be connected to one of the Parsonian functions. As will be discussed later, all references to emotion work actions were easily connected to the functions of Parsons' theory of action.

"Disinterested" colleagues performed coding and data interpretation verification. Three colleagues familiar with the Parsonian framework (1951) coded an excerpt of the data set, resulting in an agreement rate of 89% between the researcher and at least one colleague on the Parsonian component of the analyzed excerpt. When the emotion work codes were added, the agreement rate dropped to 68%. However, this is not surprising. First, the outside coders were more familiar with Parsons than they were with Hochschild. As they focused on classifying actions according to the Parsonian framework, it appeared that they often forgot to add what emotion was associated with the action. Further, the outside coders had only words on a page to guide their perceptions. As the interviewer, I had the benefit of recalling gestures and facial expressions, as well as listening to the taped interviews and hearing vocal inflections. Using an anthropological approach, however, I made the final decision in a qualitative sense regarding which codes to apply to the transcripts after considering comments from outside coders.

In addition, seven scholars with a basic understanding of the theoretical framework, yet unfamiliar with the research site, reviewed the findings and interpretations for consistency. Two staff and two volunteer members of the organization also reviewed the final document for accuracy of interpretation. Finally, ANOVAs were conducted using the overall Dealing with Feelings survey score and the score from an "emotion work" subscale to ensure the survey responses of the interviewed sample were not significantly different from the larger surveyed sample.

Results and Conclusions

The ANOVAs indicated that the interview sample was not significantly different from the larger surveyed sample on either their overall score regarding how they dealt with feelings ($p < .09$) or their subscale score regarding the extent to which they suppressed their emotions ($p < .23$). This gave added credibility to the findings that emerged from the interviews. In general, those individuals who claimed in the interviews that they tended to express their feelings also tended to have emotion work subscale scores that supported this claim. Interestingly, however, these same individuals also tended to have a higher number of emotion work actions identified in their interview transcripts.

There are several possible reasons for this finding. First, the longer interviews contained more incidents of emotion work. In addition, many of the *expressed* emotions described in the interviews may have appeared as emotion work in other contexts. For example, one volunteer thoroughly described her feelings about gender discrimination in the organization and, in her closing comments, made an off-hand remark that she would never let anyone else know how she felt about that subject. Also, the self-report nature of the study may have influenced the responses. Several respondents who claimed to be expressive indicated that performing emotion work was not genuine and, therefore, socially undesirable. One volunteer remarked, "I wouldn't [evoke an emotion], because it would be untrue." Finally, it is also conceivable that those individuals who report themselves to be more expressive are more aware of their feelings and, thus, are able to recall more experiences of emotion work.

The findings and interpretations are presented as they were analyzed, culminating in an assessment specifically related to the research question itself. First, emotion work actions were identified and sorted according to demographic characteristics that emerged as particularly relevant among the respondents. Next, thematic interpretations of the emotion work actions are presented as they were associated with each of the four functions of social systems. Once emotion work actions were identified, categorized, and interpreted, it was possible to assess the underlying purposes for which these actions were taken. Thus, the first analyses formed the foundation on which an assessment of the *purposes* of the emotion work could be conducted.

Out of the 605 participant references to emotion, 174 were emotion work actions. The vast majority of emotion work conducted was suppression of negative affect, especially anger. Evoking positive affect was also mentioned, most frequently by female staff members in the performance of goals associated with adaptation. A new form of emotion work, "veiling", appeared in this study as the simultaneous performance of suppression and evocation. Some of these emotion work actions had become so natural they had become "habits of mind" (Dewey, 1916/1944). When the sample was differentiated by gender and by organizational position (staff vs. volunteer),

women and staff members tended to perform more emotion work. This was particularly true for the female volunteers, who tended to perform the most emotion work. Women comprised only 8% of the senior volunteer leadership of this organization. Among the staff, women tended to be clustered at the mid- and staff level positions that Hochschild (1983) identified as particularly oriented to the performance of emotion work.

The central finding of the study was that the organization was facing an identity crisis due to both the changing nature of society and technology, and the increasing age of its membership. The modal age group in this organization was over 70. At a state meeting, one member commented that, "In a couple of years we'll be holding our meetings in a nursing home." Many of these older individuals who fought so hard to create a separate "air force" seemed to struggle with the concept that the organizational mission now included both "air" and "space." Others struggled with what constituted the mission of the organization since air and/or space forces could be found in all service branches of the United States military. Were they to support the United States Air Force? Or did they support aerospace power regardless of the service branch? Issues such as these formed the core of the identity crisis in the organization. The findings from the four themes associated with the system functions could all be interpreted as manifestations of this identity crisis.

Emotion work actions were associated with each of the four system functions of Parsonian theory (1951), demonstrating that the framework could be used to categorize and interpret emotion work. The vast majority of emotion work actions conducted in this organization were focused on internal organizational goals as opposed to the "customer orientation" goals that served as the focal point in other studies. This highlights that earlier emotion work studies did not capture what may be the richest source of emotion work in organizations—the daily interactions between organizational members. Latent pattern maintenance, or culture, received the most emotion work action references. The majority of staff emotion work actions were clustered in the integration function and associated with communication issues. The majority of volunteer emotion work actions were clustered in the latent pattern maintenance function and associated with discrimination and diversity issues.

The adaptation theme was associated primarily with the staff perception that they functioned as the economic "invisible hand" that guided the organization. As such, they needed to hide their true feelings from their customers, the volunteers. One senior staff member commented, "as a staff person, and with my work ethic, it was ... go out there and promote it, the [organization]." One mid-level manager on the staff discussed her growing frustration with the frequent interface with volunteers, for whom she always had to put on a "fake" smile, and the toll it took on her personal life. Nevertheless, she always attempted to shield her true feelings from the volunteer, her customer.

The goal attainment theme was associated mostly with the volunteer perception that emotions constituted a "monster" that needed to be "controlled" in order to accomplish the mission. Interestingly, this theme, in particular, highlighted the difficulty experienced by active duty and veteran Air Force members in differentiating their organizational experiences from their active duty Air Force experiences. They frequently discussed actions associated with the Air Force when asked to discuss organizational actions. For example, there was a common perception among these individuals that those in the profession of arms cannot allow themselves to share their true feelings about the events of combat (or other situations for that matter) or they will not be able to perform their mission. The most poignant discussions of emotion management were from a retired senior officer whose father had survived the Bataan Death March during World War II and who had himself been shot down during a combat mission in Vietnam. He remarked that emotions are something "that you need to combat internally, within yourself. If you're not afraid, you don't understand what's going on. It's just whether you can conquer the monster or not."

The integration theme was associated with "turf wars" which occurred among staff and volunteers. These turf wars most frequently concerned "biting [one's] tongue" on issues related to the control of information flow within the organization. Although the senior staff perceive that teamwork identifies the nature of the organization, the junior and mid-level staff have a different perception. They believe that teamwork only appears when the organization is sponsoring a major event, such as the national convention. During these times, the organization operates in a matrix structure. During daily operations, the organization is a siloed hierarchy in which directorates within the organization implicitly compete with one another.

Finally, the latent pattern maintenance theme was associated with "duty, honor, country" so often connected to the military culture. Symbolic rituals associated with those killed, missing in action, or prisoners of war generated a wide variety of emotion management. Several active duty and veteran Air Force members discussed how they held back tears during a ceremony performed in honor of prisoners of war (POWs) and those missing in action (MIAs).

The primary issues associated with latent pattern maintenance, however, concerned the suppression of emotion related to gender diversification. The "white, male, preferably pilot" culture associated with the military spurred the suppression of negative affect associated with diversity issues. One female volunteer remarked, "I

certainly feel a sense of being, *certainly*, not on an equal footing with, and never *will* be able to attain an equal footing with, the men who are in this organization... I really feel that there certainly is a bit of discrimination toward women in this organization." Another female volunteer, a military pilot, described a discussion she had with an older male volunteer who believed that only (male) pilots should be leaders in the organization. She apparently refrained from indignantly telling the male volunteer that she has "to take off my skirt to put on my flight suit." Ironically, I found myself performing emotion work under similar situations in this organization. At one point, I held back anger and disbelief as I listened to an interview participant insist that the scholarship committees should refrain from awarding spousal scholarships to women who were not pursuing careers which would complement their military husbands' careers. He also argued that the women's extracurricular activities were too often spent in professional associations instead of the PTA and church activities that should occupy their time.

Although not specifically included in the design of this study due to the focus on the "action" components of the conceptual framework, feeling rules emerged as an additional theme in the findings. The social dimension proved to be an important guide for individuals as they conducted emotion work. Much of the emotion and the emotion work seemed to be almost "unconscious" in nature, contrary to Hochschild's conception of the phenomenon. Shortly after the surveys had been distributed, one staff member was overheard commenting, "What do emotions have to do with organizations?" Another very senior, retired Air Force officer returned his survey, largely unanswered, with a comment that, "In general, I do not feel." An unsolicited description of this individual by an interview participant, however, revealed that he showed a great deal of warmth and compassion in interpersonal encounters. Thus, either this officer is doing an extraordinary job of evoking unfelt emotion, or, after more than 30 years of military service and many combat experiences, he has internalized the emotion work to such an extent that he does not recognize the emotions he is actually feeling and how he is working with them.

The preceding analyses about emotion work and the functions associated with the emotion work actions formed the foundation to analyze the specific research question guiding this study, for what purposes did individuals conduct emotion work in this organization. The purposes for which individuals conducted emotion work were substantially different between staff and volunteer members. Staff members were much more likely to perform emotion work for individual purposes than volunteers were. When staff members *did* perform emotion work for organizational purposes, it was most frequently in association with the adaptation function in the form of organizationally mandated customer service. The volunteers, however, conducted very few actions for strictly individual purposes. The vast majority of their actions were conducted for organizational purposes. This distinction between volunteers and staff members highlights the two prominent subcultures that appeared in this organization. The staff members were more often driven by the economic bottom-line of the organization than the volunteers were and tended to "look out for themselves." The emotion work conducted by the volunteers tended to be driven by a value-commitment to the organization. Because both staff members and volunteers performed emotion work for organizational purposes, there is support for the argument that emotion work may be considered a meso-phenomenon that bridges the gap between individual and organization.

Contributions to Practice

The outcome of this study is an extension of theory that provides practitioners and researchers with a model to view emotion work in organizations and to understand how that emotion work is associated with organizational action. Neurobiological work spanning more than a hundred years has revealed that emotion is a pre-requisite to communicate meaning to others, to make decisions, and to take action on those decisions (Damasio, 1994). This study found that members try to hide their negative feelings about issues and actions associated with the organization. Because much of the emotion work is internal and at least some of that emotion work is unconscious, it raises the possibility that decision-making authorities in the organization are overlooking it. For example, one volunteer commented that he had offered his support for a policy change in the organization, but he personally didn't like the change and didn't believe it would succeed. Such masking of true feelings may have negative consequences for organizational effectiveness (Gilley & Coffern, 1994). This study suggests that the roots of failed organizational action may be found by uncovering emotion work actions associated with early decision-making processes. While these emotion work actions may not have a direct and immediately visible impact on the organization, there are certainly some indirect and perhaps long-term outcomes from such actions for the organization. This study identifies emotion work action as an area that could enable HRD practitioners to help surface and resolve masked issues before the organization suffers harm.

The theoretical connections observed in the application of Parsonian theory to classify emotion work actions offer a concrete means to provide feedback to the organization on issues that are salient to individuals in the

organization. This study demonstrated that Parsons' (1951) model of social systems can be extended to more rigorously view the phenomenon of emotion work. As the importance of emotion constructs continues to gain attention among practitioners and scholars, this extension of theory offers a useful mechanism to study one such construct—emotion work. Although this study should not be generalized without caution, it is possible that the finding of emotion work as a meso-phenomenon may apply to other settings. If so, emotion work as classified and interpreted using Parsonian theory (1951) may enable a more detailed study of phenomena of interest to many HRD practitioners, such as organizational learning and organizational culture. By focusing on the issues around which emotion work is acting as a potential barrier to learning and culture change, HRD practitioners may be able to facilitate positive change in the organization.

In particular, if emotion work can be considered a meso-phenomenon that offers a distributed view of the organization (Glynn, 1996), it may offer a methodological alternative to studying organizational learning. Many studies of organizational learning have focused on identifying factors associated with organizational learning and then asking questions targeted to those specific factors (e.g., Croswell, 1996; Watkins, Yang, & Marsick, 1997). This is especially true for the qualitative studies that incorporated the four systems functions of Parsonian-based, Schwandt (1994) Organizational Learning Model (e.g., Croswell, 1996; Hinds, 1995). When using this approach, it is possible that researchers are more likely to find what they wanted to find because the study was *designed* to provide the theoretical support they were looking for. However, by identifying a type of instrumental *action* associated with the four functions of the model that can be accessed in a population without reference to the four functions themselves, researchers and practitioners may argue that the findings hold even greater credibility for applicability in an organization.

By tracing the types and purposes of emotion work by basic demographic characteristics across systems functions, it was possible to identify two distinct subcultures in the organization. The subcultures had distinct issues and events that generated their emotion work actions. While staff members tended to focus on communication issues, volunteers tended to focus on discrimination issues. This gives the opportunity to not only provide feedback on how the organization might improve perceived problem areas but also reconcile the two subcultures. It is very possible that other, similar distinctions would occur in other organizational contexts. This would enable the HRD practitioner to provide more detailed feedback to an organization that is directly related to critical systems functions of that organization. Practitioners in voluntary sector organizations should be especially aware that volunteers and professional staff members are likely to have fundamentally different purposes behind their actions in the organization. Such a difference in perspective requires tailored approaches for each subculture on issues such as organizational change, reward systems, and recruitment.

Practical applications may also be derived from the findings associated with gender differences in the performance of emotion work. This study supported Hochschild's (1983) premise by finding that women conducted more emotion work than the men did. Gallois (1993) suggests that the higher the power differential between two groups, the more aware individuals from the less powerful group must be regarding emotional contexts of interactions. She specifically refers to power differentials between men and women. It may be possible to discern the extent to which actual power differentials between genders exist in a given organization by focusing on the differences in frequency, context, and type of emotion work performed. This would enable an HRD practitioner to provide interventions to reduce the power differentials in critical areas associated with organizational performance. Among other benefits to the organization, this would increase the involvement of otherwise qualified individuals. Again, generalization of these findings should be taken with caution; nevertheless, HRD practitioners should be aware that female organizational members may be conducting a great deal of emotion work relative to their male counterparts.

This study found that emotion work definitely played a role in the actions taken by the members of this not-for-profit organization. A model that can be used to view emotion work in organizations may be useful to both scholars and practitioners. From Parsons' (1951) analytical model, scholars can create formal propositions (Turner, 1991) to account for an important, but relatively little studied, aspect of organizational life. Practitioners can use this knowledge to increase individual performance within the organization and, hopefully, to increase a variety of overall organizational capacities. Both scholars and practitioners alike can use this information to develop mechanisms to help organizations face the inherent existence of emotions in organizational processes and "manage" (Fineman, 1993) that existence in accordance with individual and organizational needs.

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Communities in the Workplace

Darlene Russ-Eft

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This study focused on developing an empirical definition of "community in the workplace." A total of 401 usable critical incidents were gathered from 119 employees in 22 different organizations in the U.S. and Canada. These factors emerged: team work and participation, mutual respect and responsiveness, investment in professional growth, concern for improvements and performance, recognition of effort, and investment of personal time and interest. They were compared with frameworks developed by Gardner (1990) and Goffee and Jones (1996). Implications for future HRD practice and research were provided.

Keywords: Organization Culture, Workplace Community, Critical Incident Method

Interest in the impact of the community on individual and group behavior has existed for some time. The earliest work on "community" focused on the community in which people live. Various approaches were used to define "community." One approach (e.g., Hoyt 1939; Park, 1915, Park & Burgess, 1925) focused on the relationship between spatial and physical features in the city and certain social characteristics, such as crime rates. This work led to various zonal hypotheses concerning communities. A second approach, called "social area analysis," focused on the social characteristics of an area (e.g., Shevky and Williams, 1949). Another approach concentrated on the personal interactions among residents (e.g., Greer, 1956). Yet another approach used the services provided within an area to define the community (e.g., Warren, 1975). Finally, Russ-Eft (1979) gathered individuals' perspectives to define the neighborhood in order to create an approach to measuring neighborhood quality of life.

More recently, Rossi (1994) introduced the notion of communities within schools and the impact of the "community" on students at risk. Specifically, Rossi and Stringfield (1995) undertook to identify "conditions that must be met in transporting isolated successes to the entire population of schools serving at-risk students." One of those two conditions was labeled "community in schools." They defined "community" as "the deep-structure fabric of interpersonal relations ... this fabric permits a shared frame of reference and supports mutual expectations."

Moving from neighborhoods (as communities) to schools (as communities), we might also consider the workplace as a community. John W. Gardner (1990), for example, recognized the importance of community for leadership. He claimed that a leader can raise employee morale and improve productivity by encouraging a sense of community. Similarly, Brown and Duguid (1991, p. 40) suggested the importance of evolving communities of practice as "significant sites of innovating."

In the wake of actions leading to disintegration, such as mergers, de-layering, and downsizing, the management and research literature abounds with discussions of corporate culture. For example, Marks and Mirvis (1998) and Mottola, Gaertner, Bachman, and Dovidio (1997) examined how corporate cultures led to success or failure in mergers. Michaels (1998) described why many valuable employees resigned from BBN Corporation, a technology company at the forefront of Internet development, after being purchased by GTE. "They weren't in fear of losing their jobs. They were just worried about what this new culture was going to be like."

Goffee and Jones (1996) claimed that such corporate culture can be described as "community." "Culture, in a word, is community. It is an outcome of how people relate to one another. Communities exist at work just as they do outside the commercial arena. Like families, villages, schools, and clubs, businesses rest on patterns of social interaction that sustain them over time or are their undoing" (p. 134).

Goffee and Jones (1996) suggested that sociology provides an identification of critical features for community, namely sociability and solidarity. Sociability refers to the friendliness of the community members, while solidarity consists of a community's ability to focus on shared objectives. Using these two factors, they conveniently derived a two-by-two matrix showing four types of community: networked, mercenary, fragmented, and communal. The empirical data providing support for these four types consisted of descriptions of four organizations fitting each type.

Although case study research can yield important information (Mulder, in press; Russ-Eft, in press; Yin, 1984/1989, 1993, 1994), the selective presentation of cases, as appeared in Goffee and Jones (1996), provides little in-depth understanding. First, one wonders whether the two selected factors are the only ones critical for

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reader is left with questions as to whether one can describe the variety of organizations using such a simple taxonomy.

Another approach to describing "community" in the workplace involved the development of a theoretical framework. Gardner (1991) identified ten characteristics or ingredients posited to lead to healthy communities. These were (1) wholeness incorporating diversity, (2) a reasonable base of shared values, (3) caring, trust, and teamwork, (4) effective internal communication, (5) participation, (6) affiliation, (7) links beyond the community, (8) development of young people, (9) a forward view, and (10) institutional arrangement for community maintenance.

The purpose of the present study was to identify the critical components of community within the organizational environment based on actual human experiences rather than opinions and attitudes of the researchers or theorists. The research questions were: (1) What are the dimensions of community in the workplace? and (2) To what extent are these similar to or different from those described by theorists?

Methods

Subjects

A total of 119 employees participated in the study. They were from 22 different organizations (gathered from 100 contacted organizations) located throughout the U.S. and Canada. The types of organizations included business services, manufacturing, publishing, high tech, defense, utilities, wholesale/retail, and education. A critical incident study attempts to obtain a sample of the full range of experience. Thus, it is not necessary to secure a representative sample of employees; instead, it is important to obtain a sampling of employees from diverse organizations and with diverse experiences.

Instruments

A critical incident questionnaire was constructed, reviewed internally, and pilot-tested with five human resource directors. The instructions included the following:

> In some workplaces, people genuinely like and work well with one another, and management policies, to a greater or lesser extent, support teamwork and the development of trust. We want to learn about the types of conditions, events, or behaviors that may foster **community** among co-workers.
>
> Please think of an incident at work involving your **co-workers** that **positively** affected your sense of community or theirs. Please describe the incident in as much detail as possible, focusing in particular upon the actions of the people involved.

Other critical incident questions asked about negative situations and about positive and negative situations involving management. In addition, demographic questions were included.

Procedures

A research staff member contacted representatives of various organizations. The person described the purpose of the study and the survey form and then requested the cooperation of the representative in administering the form to a group of employees. In most cases, the representative agreed to obtain responses from five to ten employees, but in some cases, they agreed to survey only two or three employees. Survey forms and instructions were then sent to the participating representatives. The staff member followed up with the representatives by phone and fax until the completed forms were received.

Analysis

The responses to each question were separated, along with information identifying the characteristics of the participant who made the response. Each incident identified as "critical" by the participant, or judged by the analyst as so intended, was considered as a separate incident. If a response included more than one incident, duplicates of

the entire response were made. Such a procedure allowed the analyst to physically separate the different incidents for classification purposes, while still being able to identify the entire response.

A total of 401 usable critical incidents were obtained from the sample. The only responses not used in the analysis were those that were clearly not an incident or were uninterpretable. The analysis of the incidents followed the guidelines set forth by Flanagan (1954, 1974) and are listed in Russ-Eft (1979; 1995).

Results

Demographic Results

The respondents represented a variety of different backgrounds and workplace experiences. The sample included exempt and non-exempt workers, approximately equal numbers of men and women, and all major classifications of age, education, years with the organization, and ethnicity. It should be noted that these demographic characteristics (i.e., education, age, gender, ethnicity) were identified as major contributors to the workplace experience.

Results from Critical Incident Analysis. Based on the analysis, six major factors emerged. These appear in Figure 1 along with a brief description.

Team work and participation	People feel that they are working as a team, participating fully in decisions and efforts to get the job done.
Mutual respect and responsiveness	Individuals respect each others' skills and interests and respond to perceived needs.
Investment in professional growth	People invest time and money in formal and informal training.
Concern for improvements and performance	Managers improve the work place or work procedures; co-workers do their work well.
Recognition of effort	People recognize others' efforts, and they appreciate rewards for good performance.
Investment of personal time and interest	People give personal time and attention to individuals who need or merit it.

Figure 1. Listing and description of factors identified through the critical incident analysis.

Under each factor listed in the following paragraphs, we summarized the incidents related to managers' behavior and those related to co-workers' behavior. In addition, we provide some positive and negative incidents as examples.

1. Team work and participation. Managers build teams and encourage the participation of workers in setting vision and goals, making decisions, planning, solving problems, improving productivity, and rewarding effort. They introduce formal programs and consultants to increase workers' management of their own tasks. They trust the judgment and recommendations of teams, delegate responsibility to them, and keep them informed of what they need to know to do their job right. On an individual level, managers support ideas and initiatives, select workers to participate in special projects and reinforce decisions they have delegated. In negative situations, work is "micro-managed," indicating a lack of trust in workers, people are not kept informed, and workers feel they are left out of events leading to changes, large and small, that affect their work.

"I was assigned a project by my supervisor ... I gave him my opinion and he said, 'It sounds great. Go ahead and do it.' He was available for questions ...and told me twice I did a great job."

Co-workers cooperate with each other to get the job done well within their own teams or on cross-functional teams and special projects. Individuals pitch in to handle an overload, compensate for absent co-workers, do extra tasks, or handle crises and urgent situations. They assist co-workers, with or without being asked, and help them improve technical skills. When needed they cooperate to redivide the labor and redelegate tasks. In negative

situations, not all team members pitch in, some feel excluded, or conflict arises over responsibilities. People don't offer or refuse to ask for help from co-workers, and as the workload becomes overwhelming, stress increases.

[Negative] "One of our team members feeling work overload does not communicate to management how she feels, creating stress not only for her but upsets fellow team members."

2. Mutual respect and responsiveness. Managers are responsive to their teams, make themselves available, encourage expression of opinion and need, listen actively, and take action to resolve problems brought to their attention. They also respect individuals, treat poor performance with assistance, not reprimand, counsel those under stress, and defend those who are mistreated. Managers pitch in when their groups or individuals need extra hands. In negative situations, managers ignore poor performance, fail to support individuals who are mistreated, and ignore people's opinions. They behave unprofessionally, are temperamental, rude, and moody. They make unreasonable demands and sometimes put their own interests ahead of the team's and the company's interests.

[Negative] "The manager held a mass meeting to communicate items of great importance to all who work here. The meeting was held in an area that requires earplugs when we work in or pass through it. Questions were not fully answered. The key items were not well covered and the manager appeared evasive on some issues."

Co-workers express mutual respect for each others' skills and trust in their intentions and abilities. They solve interpersonal problems, including those involving cultural and racial bias. They feel that they are well informed of what is happening in the workplace. In negative situations, co-workers treat others with disrespect, sometimes building cultural or racial barriers. They take their complaints to the boss rather than to the co-worker concerned. They display animosity, are unable to solve interpersonal disagreements, and mistrust each other in times of external threats to the group. They feel misunderstood and ill informed.

"We hold round table meetings on a regular basis. ...These round tables are designed to be positive where recognition and praise is given from one co-worker to others."

3. Investment in professional growth. Managers demonstrate that they value workers by sending them to off-site training sessions, encouraging on-site training, and supporting individual pursuits of continuing education. They provide cross training of team members. In negative situations, managers refuse to invest more, laying workers off, cutting salaries, or denying them the training and/or moral support they need to continue.

"The manager continues to support human resources development even in tough economic times. This encourages me. Funding training programs gives the message that the company is dedicated to survival (long-term) and has confidence in its present employees."

Co-workers appreciate training in technical and interpersonal skills, and they enjoy becoming acquainted through training events with people outside their immediate work areas.

"Recently we all met in Chicago to receive training on the new benefits plan. We all brought our fears, anxieties, apprehensions, and enthusiasms to the training."

4. Concern for improvements and performance. Managers pay attention to improving work conditions and the work environment. They introduce initiatives to improve the quality of products or services. In negative situations, managers slight quality or safety measures, do not put resources into making working conditions more tolerable, and do not provide adequate technical or administrative support.

[Negative] "We were having a major piece of equipment moved from one plant to another. Our maintenance men were wanting to do things right, which included cleaning and doing preventive maintenance on it during the move. The manager did not heed this and gave them such a short time frame to move it that the extras could not be done."

Co-workers take pride in high-quality work and positive results from their efforts. They often exceed their own expectations or those of others, and are pleased about doing so. They help to maintain good working conditions. In negative situations, workers are ashamed of or discouraged by low quality that is tolerated.

"We recently had a piece of equipment that broke down. This equipment has failed in the past and the maintenance repair time was two to three days. The equipment was repaired this time in one day. It was good coordination and an all out effort by the maintenance department to get the job done."

5. Recognition of effort. Managers recognize and reward good performance, sometimes with salary increases, sometimes with special events, and other times more informally, by praising groups and individuals in private or in public. They are fair and impartial in their recognition. In negative situations, efforts go unrecognized, or they create bad feelings when they are perceived as unfair or partial to certain individuals or groups, including cultural or racial groups. Managers also offend by talking negatively about some people in front of others.

"One day I did a good job—high production quantity and quality. My supervisor came and said 'thank you.'"

Co-workers give useful feedback on performance to each other and feel that their peers—as well as management—recognize their effort. They take pleasure in both giving and getting useful feedback. They are also proud to feel part of their team when they encounter outsiders at some event, even when "recognition" is not formally part of the event. In negative situations, credit or blame is misplaced, and some workers feel excluded from recognition they deserve. Sometimes they think the feedback they receive is malicious or harmful.

[Negative]"Why am I a team member at 1:00 in the morning when we are putting together reports and presentations, but not when recognition is received?"

6. Investment of personal time and interest. Managers sponsor company events and invite workers to social events. They give personal support in times of crisis, allowing more flexibility and privileges and helping as they can. In negative situations, managers completely ignore the personal lives of their workers.

"I had a close friend become terminally ill. I was encouraged by my boss to leave early on occasion and to take a weekend for myself."

Co-workers share positive experiences outside of work, such as preparing for company events or having lunch on special occasions. They enjoy getting better acquainted with co-workers, sharing more of themselves, including feelings. They appreciate company-sponsored social events and community-service activities. Like managers, they show concern for each others' welfare and need in time of crisis. Some make personal sacrifices for co-workers in urgent situations, including taking salary cuts.

"I had a birthday three months after I began work and everyone had a party for me. They usually have parties for 'landmark' birthdays, but this event did help me feel like I fit in."

Comparison of Critical Incident Results with Previous Conceptualizations

We compared data collected on instances of community in the workplace with Gardner's (1991) description of community and the Goffee and Jones (1996) dimensions. First, the factors appearing in the data and in these previous discussions of community will be highlighted. Next, the factors described by these earlier theorists that fail to appear in the critical incidents will be discussed. Finally, we will present the factors appearing in the data but *are* not mentioned by these other theorists.

1. Factors Found in Common

Teamwork and participation. One of Gardner's dimensions, that of caring, trust, and teamwork, appears in the Goffee and Jones' article as sociability. It includes an atmosphere of cooperation and connectedness; a sense of belonging and identity; a spirit of mutual responsibility; and an awareness by members that they need one another.

Some of our data in the theme of Participation and Teamwork correspond to this category. These instances deal with workers' sense of meaningful participation in work activities. They pitch in to get the job done, give and receive help, and take pride in being placed on special projects.

Gardner describes a category called "participation," which corresponds generally – though not precisely – with our data. Gardner describes an array of democratic processes (two-way flow of influence and communication; dispersed network of leaders at every level; voting, attending meetings; consensus building, coalitions, collaboration, compromise). The critical incidents are those in which workers participated in setting visions, goals, and plans; solving problems, and improving productivity. Both sources specifically mention community problem solving.

Under "participation," Gardner discusses the importance of effective leadership. The critical incidents in this study include instances of leadership only indirectly, as comments on managers who set a climate for respect, trust, and teamwork. Gardner's concern for participation reflects the choice that individuals in a community have of a level of participation; some choose to be active leaders; some to participate at less prominent levels, and some not at all. In organizations, by contrast, everyone is required to participate to some extent to earn a salary, and the significance of their participation, in some respects, corresponds with their position in the organization hierarchy.

Mutual respect and responsiveness. These data include instances of respect by managers and workers for the views and skills of others. Managers listen to workers and take action based on what they hear. Cultural barriers are bridged, and interpersonal problems are solved. Such features appear consistent with Gardner's notions of "caring, trust, and teamwork," as well as Goffee and Jones' descriptions of "sociability."

Furthermore, Gardner's category, "effective internal communication", included civility, common language, active and continuous communication between units, common meeting ground, and listening. Several of these, namely civility, listening, and active communication between units, appeared in the critical incidents with the factor Mutual Respect and Responsiveness. The incidents cited in the data are typically negative: co-workers or managers whose behavior toward others is *not* civil, and managers who do *not* listen to workers. Others, however, cited the positive instances of community through the regularity of communications, meetings in which information is shared, useful feedback is given, and managers listen.

Recognition of effort. Recognition of effort was another of the factors emerging in the critical incident data. Similarly, in the Goffee and Jones' article, recognition might be seen as an important component of the dimension labeled "solidarity." In Gardner's description, this factor appears within the category "affirmation" and receives passing mention under the categories of (1) "caring, trust, and teamwork" and (2) "participation." Respondents to the critical incident data collection cited tangible rewards, such as salary raises, recognition events, and being selected for special projects as instances of recognition. They also cited expressions in public and in private of praise and thanks for their effort.

Gardner also writes of recognition and thanks for hard work. He describes a way in which communities recognize individuals that seems to capture the spirit of some of the critical incidents: "The healthy community has many ways of saying to the individual, "You belong, you have a role to play, and the drama has meaning." It is this more than anything else that accounts for the sense of identity so characteristic of community members (p.21).

Investment of personal time and interest. All these schemes recognize the contribution of personal time to a sense of community. A major distinction between Gardner as contrasted with our data and Goffee and Jones rests on the distinction that workers in an organization expect to be paid for their labor, while those who work for the community outside of work are usually asked to volunteer. Yet even paid workers sometimes "participate" in the organization (in Gardner's words) and offer their own time. They "volunteer" to help out with social functions and to help co-workers or subordinates in times of crisis. Managers offer personal invitations or take personal time to support workers. Goffee and Jones recognize the importance of such investment in the dimension labeled "solidarity."

2. Factors Not Appearing in the Data

Gardner described eight general attributes that are barely mentioned in the critical incidents gathered from the workplace. We will discuss these in turn.

Wholeness incorporating diversity. For Gardner, this expresses the main function of a community, that of governing conflicting demands and fostering cooperation. The organization's role, in contrast, is to provide goods and services economically. Toward this end, the organization can insist on cooperation and unanimity of goal – at a certain level – and be less tolerant of diverse demands. The respondents did not comment on coherence, pluralism, or fragmentation, except in instances of bridging cultural barriers. Also, they usually focused on their immediate work group, within which goals are common and interactions regulated.

Shared values. Gardner claims that a sense of social purpose is "the most important ingredient" of community, and Goffee and Jones view it as critical to their definition of "solidarity." Nevertheless, the respondents in this study did not say much about this dimension of the workplace. The exception might be criticisms of co-workers whose disregard for procedures for quality and safety evidence conflicting values.

Forward looking. Gardner views this dimension as vital to a community, while Goffee and Jones fail to mention this aspect of organizations. Certainly, goals are fundamental to organizations, and planning for the future is taken for granted. Perhaps as a result, the critical incident respondents do not mention forward planning, except in terms of being included in activities that engage them as individual participants.

Links beyond the community. Although discussed by Gardner, the critical incident respondents make only tangential reference to this dimension. They discuss clients or customers when referring to their own performance. Occasionally they mention conflict or cooperation between units, such as divisions. Further probing would be needed to determine whether the respondents consider the other units as being within their own community. In any case, this aspect of Gardner's formulation of community receives no attention in the Goffee and Jones' work.

Institutional arrangements for maintenance. This constitutes Gardner's category for matters of governance. The critical incident respondents did not specifically mention governance, which in organizations would probably be synonymous with "management." The exception would be those incidents already identified in reference to participation in decision-making. Again, Goffee and Jones fail to discuss a similar dimension.

3. Factors Appearing in the Data but Not in the Previous Work

Investment in professional growth. Such investment appears both in the critical incident data and in Gardner's conceptualization as an indicator of community in the workplace, but the two differ somewhat in their formulation. Gardner specifies a sound educational system that includes preparation for effective leadership and participation. He also mentions informal training – learning from community members, some who may serve as mentors, and from participation in community activities. He sees formal and informal education primarily as an investment the community is required to make in its children and youth.

He does mention training as a means of support. Both his labeling of this factor as "development of young people" and his conceptualization seem to limit the emphasis of such development to children and young people at home and at school, without recognizing the extensive development activities and opportunities in the workplace. In the critical incident study, however, respondents refer to the training they receive, either on-site or off-site, not only as an investment in individuals but also as a means of improving their effectiveness and rewarding their efforts.

In contrast to the critical incident results, Goffee and Jones (1996) fail to identify development activities of any kind as part of corporate culture. Thus, both Gardner and Goffee and Jones appear to neglect the importance of human resource development in the creation of community in the workplace.

Concern for improvements and performance. This factor encompasses such areas as improvements in the workplace and work procedures and doing the job well. It relates to the quality of work, which, is certainly a concern of organizations offering products and services. One aspect of the Goffee and Jones formulation of "solidarity" involves this concern for performance and a "low tolerance of poor performance" (p.136). This aspect does not, however, appear in Gardner's formulation. This raises the question of whether the quality of schools, libraries, and other community services might or might not affect one's sense of community.

Discussion

The current study identified six factors critical to community in the workplace – at least as such community is experienced by those in organizations. The results more or less agree with previous theoretical formulations of community, as discussed by Gardner (1991) and Goffee and Jones (1996). Indeed, in terms of the Goffee and Jones formulation, the present study provides further definition of the two dimensions, sociability and solidarity.

Areas of disagreement, particularly with Gardner's description, seem to revolve around the context for "community." Gardner deals with community in the geographical or political sense of neighborhood, town, or city. As a result, certain dimensions, such as "institutional arrangements for community maintenance," seem less critical when dealing with community in the workplace.

The results of the present study indicate the viability of the concept of community in the workplace. It is a concept that exists not only in theoretical formulations, but also in experiences of people within organizations. The critical incident method provides the link needed to identify community characteristics most relevant to people within organizations. By drawing upon workplace experiences, it provides the framework for addressing the needs of the workplace community through specific policies and programs.

The study also reveals the complexity of the concept of the community in the workplace. It is composed of factors covering a broad range of concerns. Although 401 incidents were collected, some of the categories are not as well described as others. Flanagan and Russ-Eft (1975) encountered a similar situation in defining personal quality of life, as did Russ-Eft (1979) in defining neighborhood quality of life.

Contribution to Human Resource Development

These results can be used as a framework for measuring and monitoring the status of the workplace community. Under each category, available indicators of current status can be identified (e.g., production measures as an indicator of Concern for Improvement and Performance) or new indicators can be developed (e.g., employee survey on teams as an indicator of Teamwork and Participation). Such indicators can be objective or subjective. Indeed, using both types of measures and determining the relationship between them can help to ensure valid measures.

In addition to measuring and monitoring, the results of this study provide a framework for determining the impact of HRD interventions. They reveal a broad range of potential impact areas. Presumably a well-designed intervention would have impacts in many or most of these areas. Planning, development, and evaluation of such HRD interventions should, therefore, focus on these diverse factors.

Finally, given that the emergence of the factor "investment in professional growth" in these data, practitioners should explore opportunities for using HRD interventions to affect community in the workplace. Certainly new employee orientation provides one opportunity to instill a sense of community to new members of that workplace. Another would involve identification and support for communities of practice for enhancing development and innovation, as discussed by Brown and Duguid (1991).

Limitations of the Present Study and Areas for Future Research

Given the need for a well-defined set of dimensions defining community in the workplace, this research represents a first step. It provides an initial framework, but the data needs expansion. To obtain increased confidence in the stability of the framework, the data collection must include additional types of organizations, such as educational institutions and government agencies. The data set must represent the full range of organizational types.

In addition to representing only certain types of organizations, the data relies heavily on U.S. and Canadian-based organizations. A next step would be to extend this data collection to other countries, allowing for a comparison with the present results. Since today's organizations are rapidly moving to becoming global organizations, this research must examine workplace communities in other parts of the world.

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Show Me the Money: Moderators of Satisfaction for University Administrators

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This study presents an analysis of organizational survey data collected from 870 members of the non-academic or administrative staff in a large university setting. Results indicated significant differences between respondents who had prior experience in academia versus those with industry or corporate experience in terms of levels of job satisfaction. Specifically, those workers with prior experience academia were significantly more satisfied with their current jobs than their counterparts. Additional findings and implications are discussed.

Keywords: Employee Satisfaction, Organizational Surveys, University Employees, Academic Setting

Given the significant impact that employee attitudes and perceptions can have on individual and organizational performance, the study of predictors and correlates of job satisfaction represents a key area for applied organizational research. In fact, over the past 40 years considerable research has been done to investigate the predictors, correlates and/or outcomes of job satisfaction (i.e., what predicts job satisfaction and what does job satisfaction, in turn, predict). While research indicates that individuals who like their work are likely to have lower absenteeism and turnover rates (Organ & Bateman, 1986), and perhaps even live longer (Palmore, 1969), research has also shown that the majority of American workers are less than completely satisfied with their present jobs (e.g., Church, 1995; Lawler, 1990; Quarstein, McAfee, & Glassman, 1992; Sullivan & Bhagat, 1992). Even individuals who have what might classify as excellent positions--e.g., jobs that are intrinsically motivating and rewarding—often report low levels of job satisfaction. Although it is unclear if the precursors of such perceptions are due to primarily internal (e.g. attitudes regarding senior leadership, organizational culture, job-person fit, reward systems) or external factors (e.g., economic trends, increased competition for jobs, aggressive downsizing industry practice), this trend has serious implications nonetheless for the day-to-day functioning and management of contemporary organizations. Managerial behavior and resulting employee levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment, for example, have been linked through research to a variety of outcomes such as reductions in performance, product quality, and customer responsiveness, as well as increases in turnover (e.g., Buchko, 1992; Cohen, 1993; Golembiewski & Sun, 1990; Steers & Mowday, 1987; Waclawski, 1996). Clearly, given the impact that such negative attitudes can have on an organization, it is in the best interest of key policy and decision makers (e.g. organizational leaders, senior managers, and HRD and OD professionals) to have an accurate and more complete understanding of the relationships among their employees' perceptions and attitudes. To date, however, most of the research conducted on job satisfaction has been focused on and collected in private organizations (e.g., industry and corporations), while the realm of academia has remained largely unexplored. Additionally, academic institutions are particularly interesting in the context of understanding job satisfaction because of their unique cultural and structural characteristics (e.g., a highly professional and educationally focused organizational system). To this end, the purpose of the following study is to contribute to the field of HRD and OD by focusing on the correlates of and relationships regarding job satisfaction in a primarily academic setting.

Correlates of Satisfaction

Although almost all organizational systems suffer from the typical concern of "how to motivate their employees", the situation is particularly acute in university settings for the "regular" individual--i.e., someone who functions in a non-academic or administrative position. Besides having to work in a somewhat unusual hierarchical structure, the educationally biased culture found in academic institutions can be disconcerting for anyone with experience in a typical corporate setting. One of the results of such an environment is that administrative employees

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often feel like "second-class" citizens because of their educational backgrounds and/or position status as compared to the more well respected faculty population. This is unfortunate because these are the people that make the organization's operational systems function. Moreover, given the tendency to provide staff salaries below industry standards in universities, it is no surprise that these types of institutions experience a variety of employee conflicts, many of which can and do have an impact on their individual performance. However, salary alone does not predict job satisfaction. In a study conducted by The National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life (1978), for example, job satisfaction levels of private versus public (in this case government) firms showed that employees working in private firms were, on average, more satisfied than their public counterparts (74% vs. 64%, respectively). However, there were no significant differences between these two groups with respect to levels of satisfaction with pay or benefits. Other correlates with job satisfaction in other research studies have included age--i.e., employees under 30 were less satisfied than those over 30 (Sheppard & Herrick, 1972)--individual attitudes towards work (Herzberg, Mausner, Peterson, & Chapwell, 1955; Staw & Ross, 1985), and job level--i.e., professional and managerial workers report the highest levels of job satisfaction (Herzberg et al., 1955). Thus, based on these studies, one might expect there to be significant differences in satisfaction levels and their correlates in managerial and other types of non-managerial populations.

Beyond the differences already noted, however, one could easily argue that any organization whose work force is primarily focused on serving the needs of others (e.g., faculty, students, parents, etc.), will likely suffer considerable hiring, training, and development costs if negative attitudes are pervasive among their administrative employees. Clearly, one outcome of such a situation is greater turnover, which cannot be good for ensuring smooth operation. Thus, in the university setting, the management of employee perceptions through changes to corporate culture, reward systems, work group climate, and managerial behaviors is a critical issue for systemic organization development and improvement efforts (Burke, 1994; Schneider & Bowen, 1993; Sheridan, 1992; Wilkens & Ouchi, 1983).

Given the prevalence of universities, the importance of these issues, and the death of research in this area, the purpose of the following paper is to contribute to the literature by providing a detailed assessment of the key predictors and moderators of employee satisfaction among the administrative or non-academic employees in a university setting based on data collected during a recent organizational survey effort. In this study employee or job satisfaction will be defined as "the constellation of a person's attitudes toward or about the job" (Organ and Bateman, 1986, p.337). More specifically, employee satisfaction is considered to be a function of an individual's satisfaction with different aspects of his or her job such as supervision, pay and the work itself (Organ and Bateman, 1986). It is hoped that the results of this study will prove applicable to other university settings as well as other public institutions and/or service based staff positions in related types of organizational settings.

Method

A paper and pencil mail survey was administered to the officers of administration of a large Ivy League University located in the northeastern United States to assess existing levels of job satisfaction. These survey questionnaires were administered to all university officers of administration during a three-month period between July and September 1997. In total, 870 of the initial 2400 surveys distributed were returned for analysis yielding a response rate of approximately 36%. Although this is lower rate of return than what many practitioners prefer (Church & Waclawski, 1998), it is not an uncommon percentage, and is still within acceptable ranges for analysis purposes.

In terms of demographics, the officers of administration who responded to the survey were predominantly Caucasian (72%), female (62%), and normally distributed in terms of age. The majority of respondents indicating having worked at the university either between 1-5 years (34%), or over 11 years (35%). For the most part, these data corresponded well to the population distributions on these same variables provided by the organization suggesting that the present data were in fact representative of the larger population.

The survey content was initially constructed and then refined based on input from various officers of administration within the university at different levels. This process occurred through: (1) numerous meetings and interviews with senior human resources staff; (2) a series of focus groups comprised of representatives from different departments and levels; and (3) an iterative pilot testing procedure. In total, item instrument development process took several months. The final measure was comprised of 107 items which, although lengthy, was still within acceptable limits for this type of assessment effort (Church & Waclawski, 1998). In general, the reliability coefficient was quite high--computed at .96 overall--for the instrument suggesting the iterative process had indeed results in a stable measure.

Results & Discussion

Survey responses were examined using a variety of statistical approaches with two specific goals in mind: (1) to identify major relationships among employee perceptions of working conditions and organizational factors (e.g., culture, senior management, reward and benefit systems, structure) on satisfaction; and (2) to explore potential moderating variables for these relationships and/or differences various in organizational sub-groups.

Prior Work Experience

Of particular interest and importance in the data was the impact of prior work experience of the administrative staff (self-identified as being from either academia or industry) on the types of issues and concerns raised, as well as the differential impact of their perceptions on employee satisfaction. Based on a series of oneway ANOVAs (controlled for Type I error), significant and meaningful perceptual differences existed between these two groups such that administrative employees with primarily academic backgrounds were far more *positive* about the university than were their counterparts who had crossed over from industry settings. Major areas of contention exhibiting these effects included the perceived adequacy of the compensation offered, the degree of cooperation and support received from peers, the degree to which people were treated fairly and equitably, overall levels of job satisfaction, and feelings of trust and respect in the workgroup. The only areas in which this trend was reversed concerned employee ratings of specific benefits that are traditionally less favorable in organizational settings (e.g., regarding tuition exemption, the amount of vacation; the quality and coverage provided by medical insurance, availability of training). In short, aside from some of the benefit options, staff members with industry experience found the climate and working conditions of their academic experience to be somewhat lacking by comparison.

Given these trends, some additional predictive modeling was done in an attempt to understand the drivers these perceptual differences. Figures 1 and 2 provide an overview of these regression results (see following page). Despite the clear presence of multicolinearity issues inherent in this type of a one-shot survey process (Church, 1995), the difference in the two regression models does suggest clear distinctions in how employees familiar with academic settings feel about their work as compared with people transplanted from more corporate or industry related backgrounds.

Gender Effects

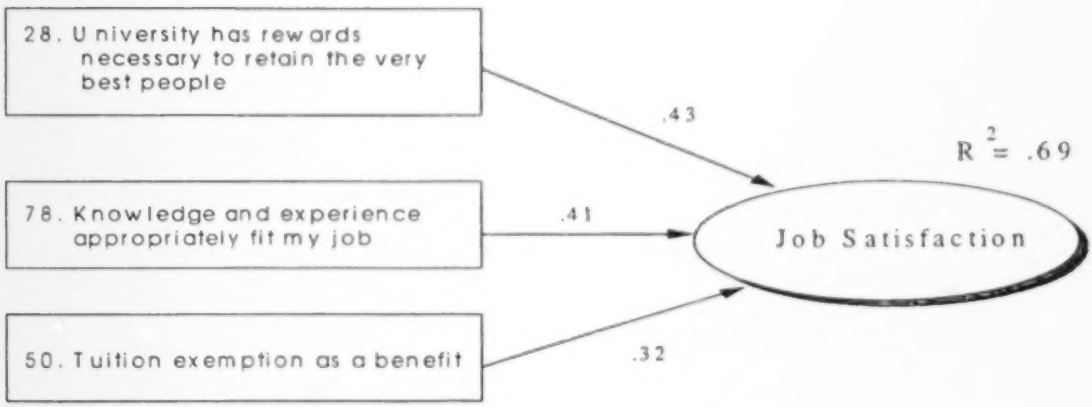
Next, the data were examined more carefully for differences in ratings effects by gender. An interesting finding emerged in the data based on the results of an overall ANOVA model of summary scores for all survey items. Specifically, men reported significantly higher ratings of the university overall, across the entire 107 item instrument, than did women ($M = 3.09$ vs. $M = 3.00$) $F = 3.73$, $p < .05$. Next, a series of follow-up ANOVAs were conducted to examine differences at the item level. These analyses revealed that men gave significantly more favorable ratings to the university on 27 out of 107 items (or approximately 25% of the survey) than did women staff members (see Table 1). In general, men were more satisfied with the treatment that they received at the university, and the pay, benefits and incentives given by the university. Moreover, men reported a greater sense of pride in working for the university than did women and higher levels of satisfaction with their jobs.

Based on these results, it would appear that, in general, male staff members had a better "on the job experience" than did their female counterparts in this university setting. Perhaps this is pattern is indicative of the stereotypically male dominated academic culture. On a related note and in support of this hypothesis, survey participants did have the opportunity to respond to several open ended items on the survey wherein they indicated as much. One of the more frequent remarks from women respondents, for example, was that the university was plagued by "cronyism" and that the "good old boys" mentality was pervasive, thus creating a less than optimum environment for women at the university. This factor alone may help explain some of the difference in satisfaction levels between male and female respondents, and suggests that future change efforts in universities may need to be directed at this gender gap first before moving on to other agenda.

Tenure Effects

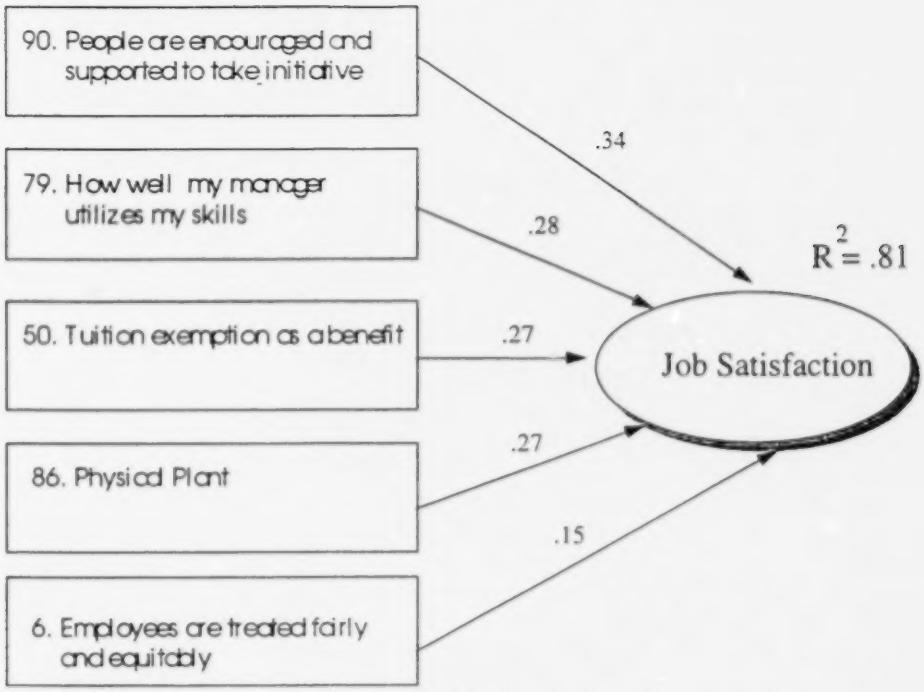
In addition to gender, the relationship between job tenure and ratings of the university as a place to work were also examined. While no significant effects were found at the overall level (i.e., across all survey items by tenure), some interesting differences did emerge at the individual item level (see Table 2 for details). For example,

it was evident that newer employees were significantly more positive about their managers' ability to inspire and motivate employees, the presence of career development opportunities, the amount of coaching and mentoring available, and the balance between work and personal life. Although less positive in general, middle tenured employees (i.e., with 6-10 years experience), were more optimistic in their assessments regarding some healthcare benefits and the quality of workspace conditions at the university. Given their position on the cusp of making a long-term commitment, however, this increased level of criticism is not surprising. Finally, more senior employees (i.e., those with 11 years tenure with the university or more), gave significantly higher ratings to items associated with most of the personnel related benefits offered by the university, such as the quality of life insurance, savings plans, medical coverage, spending budgets, and sick leave. This group was also more positive about the conditions in their workspace, as well as having more pride and being significantly more satisfied overall.


28. University has rewards necessary to retain the very best people
78. Knowledge and experience appropriately fit my job
50. Tuition exemption as a benefit
.43
.41
.32
$R^2 = .69$
Job Satisfaction

NB: numbers adjacent to arrows are beta weights.

Figure 1. Predictive model: satisfaction for academic workers.



NB: numbers adjacent to arrows are beta weights.

Figure 2. Predictive model: satisfaction for industry workers.

Although one might point to a myriad of factors, these findings are most likely indicative of a combination of (a) those things that are valued by each of the three groups and (b) what is offered by the organization at various levels. More specifically, newer (and probably younger) employees would arguable be most interested in career development and advancement opportunities. Thus, this is both the area they tend to focus on and, in a university setting fraught with would be mentors, is most likely to occur representing a good match. Middle level employees, on the other hand, are likely to be in that in between job stage, where commitment decisions are to be made and the quality of all things including benefits and worklife balance are being considered. Employees with 11 years tenure or more, however, are likely to have already made that commitment to the university and are therefore likely to be more positive regarding the quality of the benefits offered (since this was probably a factor in their decision in the first place) as well as their overall satisfaction.

In sum, based on these results it is apparent that differences do exist in the predictors and correlates of employee satisfaction among non-academic employees in university settings. For the most part, issues of compensation levels, overly bureaucracy structures and policies, and a lack of unity across departments were key. Moreover, there appeared to be clear differences in perceptions with respect to prior work experience, gender, and levels of tenure that should be considered when OD and HRD practitioners are involved in making policy related performance management and personnel decisions.

Table 1

Significant Univariate ANOVA Item Results by Gender

Survey Item	Female (n = 534)	Male (n = 323)	F
2. University Admin. Promotes a sense of unity and shared values	2.18	2.40	8.14
5. I have confidence in the University Admin.	2.61	2.86	10.21
6. employees are treated fairly and equitably	2.74	3.00	9.66
9. managers provide performance evaluations on a regular basis	2.36	2.67	10.62
12. managers respond appropriately to poor performance	2.90	3.11	5.36
16. managers make best use of people's skills and abilities	2.98	3.25	8.21
19. managers work w/ employees to establish performance objectives	2.93	3.17	6.25
21. managers encourage open, two-way communication	3.32	3.55	5.91
22. managers allocate limited resources effectively	3.13	3.42	10.21
23. managers provide employees with info. to carry out their jobs	3.17	3.42	7.82
25. managers reward and recognize good performance	3.04	3.25	4.28
26. employees are given incentives to improve their performance	1.98	2.23	8.50
28. University offers rewards necessary to retain the best people	1.98	2.17	7.02
32. pay and benefits compare to union members on campus	2.87	3.15	5.13
33. pay and benefits compare to support staff	3.02	3.38	9.91
34. pay and benefits compare to similar positions on campus	2.40	2.67	6.60
44. promotions are based on a fair and objective assessment of skills	2.48	2.77	9.99
46. satisfaction with benefits compared with other organizations	3.49	3.23	10.05
48. satisfaction with medical benefits compared with other orgs.	3.22	3.08	5.66
54. satisfaction with savings/investment plans compared with others	3.39	3.25	4.07
56. satisfaction with sick leave compared with other organizations	3.82	3.67	5.08
78. knowledge and experience appropriately fit the job I currently hold	4.12	4.32	7.23
82. ventilation in workspace meets expectations	2.51	2.70	4.12
83. air quality in workspace meets expectations	2.43	2.71	10.46
89. employee morale at the University	2.31	2.47	4.74
91. satisfaction with my job	3.25	3.41	4.00
93. pride in working for the University	3.65	3.91	10.83

N.B. All *Fs* are significant at $p < .01$.

Limitations & Suggestions for Future Research

In general, there are several limitations to this research that hinder the generalizability of the results presented. First, only one organization was studied. Future research should focus on replicating the differences exhibited here across a variety of universities and other academic organizations.

Another limitation of this research is the specific nature and size of the sample studied. Although the entire population of the officers of administration were used for this research, differences in other groups that were not studied might serve to either enhance or refute patterns observed. Future research should be directed at looking at a broader array of demographic characteristics (i.e., attitudes towards work, job level, supervisory experience, etc.) that may be correlated with and/or predictive of job satisfaction.

Finally, the present research is only correlational in nature; therefore we cannot with any certainty assess the predictive nature of the relationships involved. Future research should attempt to incorporate additional external measures of satisfaction taken before the assessment of current levels of job satisfaction. This would provide a more empirical baseline measure of job satisfaction against which to measure current and future levels of employee perceptions.

Table 2

Significant Univariate ANOVA Item Results by Tenure

Survey Item	< 5 Yrs (n = 341)	6-10 Yrs (n = 178)	11> Yrs (n = 291)	F
2. University Admin. promotes a sense of unity and shared values	2.39	2.12	2.21	4.16
6. employees are treated fairly and equitably	3.01	2.72	2.70	7.07
8. managers inspire and motivate people to do the best job possible	3.38	3.07	3.16	4.50
13. managers promote career development in new assignments	2.97	2.74	2.67	4.24
14. managers coach and train people in new assignments	2.69	2.35	2.38	6.18
15. managers spend time discussing career development plans	2.37	2.01	1.86	14.50
17. managers enable a healthy balance between work and personal life	3.33	3.07	3.05	4.58
19. managers work w/ employees to establish performance objectives	3.16	2.98	2.84	4.66
25. managers reward and recognize good performance	3.29	2.87	3.05	6.31
37. employees are aware of training opportunities that exist	2.86	3.48	3.63	39.14
45. employees have a good understanding of their benefits	3.46	3.54	3.79	7.92
46. satisfaction with benefits compared with other organizations	3.23	3.36	3.64	10.23
52. satisfaction with life insurance compared with other organizations	2.81	2.79	3.05	7.18
54. satisfaction with savings plans compared with other organizations	3.24	3.25	3.49	5.67
55. satisfaction with spending accounts compared to other companies	3.28	3.35	3.52	7.07
56. satisfaction with sick leave compared with other organizations	3.66	3.76	3.88	4.39
58. satisfaction with quality of medical care	3.67	3.95	3.86	4.76
59. satisfaction with service physician's office	3.76	4.03	4.04	7.52
60. satisfaction with service covered by medical plan	3.39	3.50	3.68	6.75
61. satisfaction with convenience of medical plan	3.35	3.47	3.62	4.31
78. knowledge and experience appropriately fit the job I currently hold	4.07	4.20	4.32	4.72
80. employees feel there are opportunities to develop in the Univ.	3.32	3.01	3.00	6.12
84. workspace provided meets expectations	2.62	2.87	2.91	4.46
85. lighting in workspace conditions meets expectations	3.21	3.48	3.46	5.46
86. furniture in workspace meets expectations	2.90	3.15	3.20	5.57
89. employee morale at the University	2.51	2.32	2.22	6.28
91. satisfaction with my job	3.29	3.10	3.44	5.49
92. the Univ. encourages a balance between work and personal life	3.24	2.87	2.90	10.34
93. pride in working for the University	3.78	3.52	3.84	5.16

N.B. All *F*s are significant at $p < .01$.

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Questioning the Viability of a Women's Network as a Management Development Activity

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The focus of this study was the continued viability of a women's network within an organizational system. Once an active part of the company culture, it apparently had ceased to meet. We chose this example to research the current role of women's networks, their contributions and limitations, and the alternative mechanisms that may be replacing them. Quantitative and qualitative data were used to draw conclusions for this network and to pose implications for HRD.

Keywords: Women's Networks, Informal Learning

In the past decade numerous studies have been conducted examining women's progress in organizations. Many of these studies have emphasized developmental opportunities that promote women's learning and advancement within the corporate framework (Bierema, 1996; Gordon & Whelan, 1998; Ohlott, Ruderman, & McCauley, 1994; Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998; Tharenou, Latimer, & Conroy, 1994; Wentling, 1996). This body of literature suggests that women should seek challenging and important assignments and gain access to line positions, engage in mentoring relationships and training opportunities, and develop a clear career strategy. Frequently mentioned in these studies is the importance of women networking with others as a means of learning and advancing within the organization. For example, Bierema (1996) found that the women in her study ". . .took advantage of relationships— particularly mentoring, peer support, and networking relationships — to help them develop and function in their organization's culture" (p. 157). Further, Bierema reported that executive women ". . .used networking for understanding informal power structures, strategizing, providing and giving feedback, and sharing support" (p.158).

Some organizations, recognizing the importance of networking as a development tool, have implemented network groups exclusively for women or for minorities. The literature reinforces the need for these types of groups. For example, Lewis & Fagenson (1995) suggested support networks as an alternative to single-sex training in a critique of management development strategies for women. Gordon & Whelan (1998) recommended that organizations provide support groups to help women as they approach midlife and later career issues. Rosener (1995) advocated the use of networks and councils as a strategy "to address the underutilization of women . . ." (p. 159).

Problem Statement and Theoretical Framework

According to Friedman (1996) there are four major distinguishing characteristics of networks. These characteristics include: a social identity, such as gender or ethnicity; an intra-organizational entity; being "self-controlled and self-organized," and being recognized publicly (p. 323). Friedman (1996) found that network groups were perceived most effective at achieving the following objectives: getting social support, providing support for younger employees, and getting informal business and career advice (pp. 339-340). Network groups were perceived to be much less effective in fighting discrimination and influencing company policies. Friedman concluded that "there is clearly a role for advocacy on the part of network groups, . . . but the unique strength of network groups is their ability to reshape social networks and communicate with management, rather than serve as a policy-making or policy-influencing body" (p. 341). Networks often serve to reduce the feelings of marginality and isolation felt by individuals not considered part of the majority. Mehra, Kilduff, & Brass (1998), in a study of social networks, found that women and racial minorities tend to make identity and friendship choices within their group (women to women, African-Americans to African Americans, etc.) when they are "relatively rare" in the social context. They conclude that: "To achieve integration in organizations, it may be necessary to first recognize heightened pressures for within-group solidarity among under represented group members" (p. 450).

However, there is some evidence that homophily, the degree to which individuals interact with those similar to them (Ibarra, 1993), may limit one's access to those in power. Brass (1985) found women in integrated workgroups had more access to the dominant coalition and more influence, than women in all-female groups. These

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findings led him to conclude that "encouraging women to form networks with other women in the same organization may be unnecessary or, at worst, nonproductive" (p. 340).

The research on networks informs us of the configuration and patterns of networks and the utility of career networks (Ibarra, 1995; Mehra, et al., 1998), but more information is needed regarding the learning that occurs as a result of networks and the evolution of these networks. For example, does this type of network cease to be needed when a significant number of females or minorities reach a certain level in the organization? Will these networks continue to fulfill an important function as organizations change?

Research Questions

This study explored the continuing viability of a structured women's network in an organization nationally recognized for its concern for female employees. One goal was to determine what role, if any, does this type of network still have in promoting continuing career progress for women in organizations. Another was to discover what other mechanisms hold promise as informal learning opportunities for women, if the network structure is not longer viable. Questions explored in this study included the following:

* Why do some women choose to participate in such networks? Why do some choose not to participate?
* What kinds of learning takes place in a structured network for women?
* Has the women's network structure outlived its usefulness as a social support system?
* Are structured women's networks still viable in prompting women's career progression?
* What initiatives (mechanisms), if any, are taking the place of structured women's networks?

Research Methodology and Background

A large, international service industry corporation that frequently has been listed as one of the best 100 companies by Working Mother magazine was the site of this study. We had some history with this organization. In the past, we had conducted focus groups to evaluate their Women at Work program and met periodically with the Women Executives (WE) group. The latter was the focus of this study. Once an active part of the organizational culture, the network seemingly had ceased to meet as a formal entity. The apparent unplanned demise of this structure prompted our questions about the role of women's networks in this organization as well as in others.

Every women above a certain position level in the organization is considered to be a member of the Women Executives group. Historically, as with most organizations, some women have chosen to take leadership roles in the network, while others have ranged in their commitment from those who attended meetings consistently to those who chose not to participate. Our research was designed to reach all of these women, to obtain the richest span of data possible.

This was a quantitative study employing survey methodology. The survey method was chosen for several reasons. First, the use of a Likert scale survey format to determine interest in participation and reasons for non-participation has roots in the work of Scanlan & Darkenwald (1984) and Darkenwald & Valentine (1985) examining deterrents to participation in adult and continuing education. Second, the survey permitted reaching all of the 135 members of the network in a timely way that allowed them to respond anonymously. Survey responses were mailed directly to us as researchers acting independently of the corporation, to encourage participants to be open with their answers and to state their concerns more freely than they might with an internal inquiry. Of a total of 135 surveys mailed, 68 usable responses were received, yielding a return rate of 57%.

The 38 item Likert scale survey was created by the researchers. Two leaders of the network were consulted extensively during the development process to ensure that the survey was comprehensive in scope and accurate in its use of industry terms. There are four major sections of the survey: reasons for choosing to be active in the network (i.e., "I wanted to learn more about the corporate culture), reasons for choosing to be inactive (i.e., "I don't believe in initiatives designed to segregate men and women"), their perceptions of the current need (or lack of it) for the network (i.e., "This group can contribute to the corporation's success" and "The current corporate climate is sufficiently inclusive of women"), and means other than the network that respondents use to build alliances and to create learning opportunities within the organization (open-ended questions at the end of the survey).

Results and Conclusions

Quantitative Results

In gathering information, it was important to establish how active each respondent had been in the network, recognizing that participation choice might be indicative of interest in the potential continuation or demise of the group. Frequency analysis revealed the following percentages of self described activity level: 45% "somewhat active," 34% "not active," 12% "active." and 9% "very active." Written comments explained that several of those listed as "not active" were women who have become eligible for membership during the time the network has been in hiatus and who expressed interest in participating if the group continues.

The descriptive statistical analysis summarized several interesting points about the respondents. Most of the women in the study had been employed by the company for over six years, with 22% noting an employment record of over 20 years. However, as with many organizations, entry into officer ranks has been less forthcoming, with 55% indicating they have been officers for less than six years. An item set regarding professional identity showed that the respondents identified highly with their roles within the corporation as a whole, their business divisions and their departments. They identified least with the roles of "executive" and "woman executive."

Descriptive and correlation analyses yielded few surprises regarding reasons to participate or not to participate in the network, and rationale for continuing or disbanding the group. Each segment will be highlighted briefly in this discussion.

Those who had been active at some level were asked to complete a segment focusing on potential reasons for participating in the group (see Table 1). The item "It was an effective way to make contact with other women in the organization" yielded the highest level of agreement. It was followed by "I wanted to support the advancement of women in the organization" and "I enjoyed the social interaction." The item receiving the least endorsement was "I thought it would advance my career." This group of responses appears to reflect interest in building relationships with other women over a goal of individual professional gain.

Inactive members responded to an item set that reflected typical deterrents to participation in management development activities. The item that showed the highest level of agreement was "I didn't have enough time." The one that showed the least endorsement was "I thought it would be a waste of my time." While both refer to time as a factor, the former clearly is based on priorities, which suggests the network just did not fit in; while the latter is a judgment against the value of the group. Although the result is the same (non-participation), the rationales are quite different; suggesting that even non-participants might see some value in the network.

For the segment regarding reasons the network still is needed, "The glass ceiling continues to exist..." yielded the most affirmation. While the most agreement among reasons the network is no longer viable was "Priorities within the company have changed." Interestingly enough, these juxtaposed statements may be describing similar phenomenon, for example a company that once focused on improving the internal environment for its female employees may now be faced with the need to turn attention more fully on outside competition, and in the process may fall back on traditional hierarchical processes and value systems.

Predictably, items stressing the perception of value in the network, such as "I enjoyed the social interaction" and "Women desire to network with other women" were intercorrelated ($r=.564$, $p=.01$). Another example was the intercorrelation of activity level with social interaction ($r=.416$, $p=.01$) and activity level with the item "There is no other group for women to talk about business, professional and social issues." ($R=.330$, $p=.01$). Similarly, items reflecting on the perceived ineffectiveness of the group such as "I thought it would be a waste of my time" and "Women should move beyond segregated networking/ management development opportunities" were intercorrelated as well ($r=.614$, $p=01$).

Three open-ended questions at the end of the survey asked respondents to indicate if other activities had replaced the network in providing social support or professional development and what the focus of the network should be if it continues. There was a section for general comments as well. Forty-two respondents answered at least one of the open-ended questions. The content from the open-ended items were analyzed separately by each researcher and then analyzed together to determine if common themes existed.

Very few common themes were found, however respondents most frequently reported that work for nonprofits outside of the organization and the development of their own personal network had replaced the executive women's network in providing social support and meeting their professional development needs. Time pressures were reported by some respondents as being a major issue when pursuing any activities to meet their needs. One respondent wrote: "Work has become so intense it is hard to make time for anything. . . "

Table 1: Means and Standard Deviations

Item	N	Mean	SD	
I participated because:				
Effective way to make contact with women in the organization.		44	4.55	.6271
Enjoyed the social interaction.	45	4.02	.8391	
Wanted to learn more about management.	45	3.18	1.029	
Wanted to learn more about the insurance/finance business.	43	3.05	1.112	
Wanted to mentor other women.	43	3.19	.9065	
Wanted to find a mentor.	43	3.02	1.080	
Wanted to learn more about the corporate culture.	45	4.00	.8790	
My colleagues participated in the group.	44	3.36	.9667	
Wanted a professional support network.	45	3.73	.8634	
Thought it would help me advance in my career.	44	3.02	.9997	
Wanted to support the advancement of women in the organization.	45	4.18	.8605	
I chose not to participate because:				
Thought it would be a wasted of my time.	23	1.91	.9002	
Don't believe in initiatives designed to segregate men and women.	23	2.96	1.147	
Didn't have enough time.	24	3.50	1.063	
Had enough networking opportunities already.	23	2.48	1.039	
Location of the meetings was not convenient.	23	2.78	.9023	
Concerned how my colleagues would perceive my participation.	23	1.96	.8245	
Enough management development opportunities.	23	2.39	.8388	
Saw no need for the group.	23	2.22	1.166	
The group still is needed because:				
Women do not receive as many development opportunities as men.	65	3.66	.8888	
Women desire to network with other women.	65	3.88	.8928	
The glass ceiling continues to exist.	64	4.16	.8585	
Members learn from the programs.	64	3.67	.8918	
Is no other group for women to talk about business, professional, social issues.	64	3.66	1.057	
The network is no longer needed or viable because:				
No one has time to attend programs and functions.	51	2.96	1.216	
Women have reached parity with men.	53	1.74	.7112	
Women should move beyond segregated networking opportunities.	51	3.02	1.157	
Other management development opportunities have replaced the need.	53	2.32	.9359	
Current corporate climate is sufficiently inclusive of women.	51	2.10	.9221	
Corporate climate discourages segregated programs.	50	2.80	.9476	
Other networking opportunities exist that have replaced the need.	52	2.10	.7478	
Priorities within the company have changed.	47	3.45	1.100	
There is a lack of interest.	51	3.08	1.055	

1=Strongly Disagree, 5=Strongly Agree

Qualitative Data

When asked what the focus and format of the network should be if it continues, the largest portion of individuals indicated the group needs to focus on providing networking opportunities and developing its' members through substantive programs. Some indicated that the network needs to change. One woman suggested the group needed to be "reinvented." Another suggested that the group be combined with other minority groups or opened to other women managers. The exclusive nature of the group bothered a few respondents. One woman wrote:

> We should be expanded to include all women in management, not officer level only. I believe affinity groups should practice inclusivity versus exclusivity as much as possible, without losing site of its mission (sic).

A few also indicated it was time to disband the group, either due to lack of support or because the group was no longer needed or effective. One respondent suggested: "I think the WE group represents a group who served a valuable purpose at one time but perhaps it is not needed now."

However some women adamantly felt the group is needed now more than ever. Most of these individuals indicated that the current corporate climate was making it difficult for women within the organization. One responded:

> I think WE is sorely needed — particularly at this juncture when executive women are losing jobs or experiencing reduced responsibilities. Women officers need to join forces and have a voice in responding to the negative changes many of us are experiencing.

Data Summary

Taken in full, the responses reveal a key philosophical difference in how the organization and the network are perceived. On one side are those who believe strongly that the network serves a professional and social purpose. While respondents in this segment seem drawn to the network primarily for its social interaction, they cite inequities in women's opportunities as a reason it continues to be needed. The opposition holds the perception that women need to stop being segregated from the rest of the organization and recognize that priorities have changed for the company as well as for them as individuals, and therefore, a women's network is no longer a viable entity.

The gap between these two groups is unlikely to diminish because members on each side have surveyed the same situation and interpreted it very differently. Even if they could reconcile their diverse perceptions into a compromise, it would be unlikely to meet the needs of either constituent group adequately. The moment of women's solidarity on this issue appears to have passed. Even if the network is revived by those interested in its continuation, it could not claim to represent the views of "women executives," the way some corporate caucus and advisory group do. It is unrealistic and naive to believe that any one group could ever speak unequivocally for all of its constituents; however, to be an effective advocate, members need to agree on some basic tenets as a foundation. The responses to this survey indicate that on the topic of an executive level network for women, this group of female executives themselves cannot come to agreement. This case prompts speculation about whether other organizations are facing similar circumstances. Now that women are in management positions, have women's networks lost the momentum and the singular focus that gave them strength, or do they simply need to reassess their functions within organizations? What new goals are being set for the advancement of women, and how can they best be met? These questions remain open for future research on internal single sex network systems.

Implications

Structured networks ostensibly were developed to provide access to social support, professional development advice, acculturation information, and people holding power in the organization, because these resources were not readily available to women. Friedman (1996) has suggested that social support is a primary rationale for network membership, and many respondents in this study appeared to agree. They readily voiced their appreciation of the social contact provided by the network, but they were much less likely to note career advancement as a benefit. What the data did not reveal is if the dismissal of the latter accurately reflects the situation, or if the women subjects were less comfortable acknowledging their interest in furthering their careers through their relationships.

Research suggests that formalized career development initiatives are being supplemented by a variety of individual professional growth opportunities dubbed "informal learning." Networks can offer opportunities for these less formal learning opportunities, but at the same time, structured networks (with meeting times and membership lists) may be less viable in the current climate than they were only a few years ago. Organizational and individual priorities likely have changed over time and support for traditional networks may have decreased as a result. Additionally, some may argue that structured networks segregate female employees within the company, and as a consequence, perpetuate the status quo of women as separate and unequal partners in the organizational enterprise. The respondents in this study expressed these concerns, and they present a dilemma for human resource development professionals in this company and in others. No clear mandate came out of this research. Admittedly, the data set was small. The structure of the survey was such that not all respondents answered all segments, so the number of responses for some items was much smaller than the total return. Within those responses were clear contradictions about the perceived value and purpose of the women's network. The decision to revive, revise, or

remove this network will not be easy, because those who will be most affected by that decision are not in agreement themselves about the outcome they want. Some expressed interest in a forum for substantive programs to serve as learning experiences, but others' preferences were for an emphasis on social interaction. Some want the group opened to all women managers, but others would choose to have male and female executives together. While women still face a glass ceiling and inequities within the company, the liabilities of segregating female managers and executives from the mainstream and not focusing on the changing organizational climate remain as concerns, for this company as well as for others.

To abandon women's networks could be a regressive move, putting women once again in the position of trying to gain access from an inequitable position, and leaving them on the periphery of the organizational culture. Structured networks may not be the viable and valuable entities they were in the past, but should they be dissolved? If they are, what mechanism will replace them to offer social support and professional equity opportunities for women in corporate cultures? This project posed these questions, and while the results of the study offer some insights into the issues, they serve mainly to illustrate the complexity of this situation. While this research focuses on one company, the results have ramifications for other organizations as well. Women still are under represented in senior management. This is a human resource development concern. Perhaps it is time to reconsider past initiatives and determine what strategies have more potential for change as we approach the new millennium.

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